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Loose, idle and disorderly: vagrant removal in late eighteenth-century Middlesex

On 22 December 1785, nineteen-year-old Rebecca Gough and her friend Mary Brown were arrested in London by John Atkinson, the beadle of St Martin-in-the-Fields, ‘wandering abroad in a loose and idle ... manner’. Rebecca was initially taken to St Martin’s workhouse, where she spent a couple of days in the ‘Shed’ – the casual women’s ward – before being examined by justice Thomas Bullard some time on Christmas Eve. Bullard determined that Rebecca fell within the ill-defined boundaries of the 1744 Vagrancy Act and should be punished and removed to her parish of settlement. From the workhouse she was sent to Tothill Fields house of correction in Westminster, probably for two to three days’ hard labour, before being passed into the hands of Henry Adams, the vagrant contractor for Middlesex.¹ Riding in the back of Adams’s covered cart, she was then delivered directly from the house of correction to the vagrant contractor

*This article forms one of the outcomes of a larger collaborative project between the three authors, *Vagrant Lives: An Analysis of Late Eighteenth Century London’s Vagrant Poor*. For this article, Hitchcock was primarily responsible for drafting the text and contextualizing the discussion; Crymble analysed and regularized the data, including visualization and quantitative analysis; and Falcini cleaned the underlying dataset, generated the geo-referencing and wrote and researched elements reflecting the workings of the Middlesex branch.

¹For Rebecca Gough see *London Lives, 1690–1800*, St Martin’s Workhouse Registers: Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers, 22 December 1785–24 December 1785 (smdswhr_604_60454), www.londonlives.org, version 1.1, 28 April 2013; London Metropolitan Archives (hereafter

LMA); *LL*, St Martin’s Settlement Exams: St Martin in the Fields Pauper Examinations, 1725–1793, 24 December 1785 (smdsset_7_795); *LMA*; *LL*, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers – Justices’ Working Documents, January 1786 (LMSMPS5080 60091); *LMA*. Some counties, such as Berkshire, simply issued ‘walking passes’, directing vagrants along a standard route. See Mark Neuman, *The Speenhamland County: Poverty and the Poor Laws in Berkshire, 1782–1834* (Ann Arbor, 1982), 112–13. On the basis of a detailed survey of seven counties, Audrey Eccles has concluded that most used a system of contractors by the second half of the eighteenth century. Audrey Eccles, ‘The eighteenth-century vagrant contractor’, *Local Population Studies*, 85 (2010), 46–63. See also Eccles, *Vagrancy in Law and Practice under the Old Poor Law* (Farnham, 2012).

for Buckinghamshire at his house at Denham, just on the far side of the Middlesex/Buckinghamshire border, prior to being sent on to Chalfont St Giles, Rebecca's parish of settlement.

Rebecca's name, the date of her arrest and punishment, the cost of her care, details of her parish of settlement and the first leg of her journey home were all recorded in Henry Adams's clear hand, as part of his regular bill to the Middlesex bench. In total, details of 14,789 vagrant removals administered by Adams between 1776 and 1786 have survived.² This article uses Henry Adams's bills to explore the character of the system of removal and punishment as it was experienced by vagrants. First, the characteristics of vagrants removed from Middlesex, and from the City of London through Middlesex, are used to evidence how JPs and the Lord Mayor selectively implemented the system in response to local conditions and challenges. And second, by tracing a subset of vagrants from the criminal justice system into the poor law records of St Martin-in-the-Fields, it suggests that the two systems – of vagrancy and poor relief – should be understood as part of a single complex landscape of relief and authority.

In a period characterized by discretionary justice, the ill-defined 'crime' of vagrancy gave almost unlimited scope to justices of the peace to treat anyone who could not give a 'good account of themselves' as criminals. Following Acts of Parliament in 1700, 1714 and 1744, the administration of vagrant removal was first vested in the county, and then defined against an ever shaggier list of the undesirable, including:

Patent gatherers

Collectors for prisons, gaols or hospitals

Fencers and bearwards

Common players of interludes

All minstrels, jugglers

All persons pretending to be Gypsies, or wandering in the habit or form of Egyptians...³

From 1744 a two-shilling reward was available to any constable willing to arrest a vagrant, whose punishment could include hard labour and a public whipping, followed by removal to their parish of settlement at county expense. Rewards of five and ten shillings were available for the apprehension of repeat offenders and 'incorrigible rogues',

²The geo-referenced contents of all Adams's lists between these dates can be downloaded at: ??????. All subsequent figures and tables are based on this dataset. Only 193 repeat removals can be securely identified in these lists, in addition to a further 111 who may have been subject to multiple removals. This represents a recidivism rate of between 1 and 2 per cent across all 14,789 entries.

³*A Bill Intituled, An Act to amend and make more effectual the Laws relating to Rogues, Vagabonds,*

and other idle and disorderly Persons and to Houses of Correction (1744), 17 George II. c.5, pp. 2–3. This same list was then reproduced in every edition of the justicing manuals, found in every study of the justice of the peace up to and beyond the end of the century. See, for example, Richard Burn, *The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer*, 18th edn (London, 1797), vol. 4, 410–11.

who could be sentenced to up to seven years' transportation.⁴ Although implementation was patchy, by the early 1770s Middlesex was spending approximately £150 per annum catching vagrants, £250 on 'passing' them, and a further £600 to £800 per annum on punishing and imprisoning them.⁵ Rebecca Gough was just one of more than 1100 removed in 1785.

Our understanding of this system is fragmentary, and divided between discrete literatures on crime, migration and poor relief. In the work of Robert Shoemaker and Faramerz Dabhoiwala, for Middlesex, but also John Beattie, Peter King and Joanna Innes, the ability to arrest beggars and prostitutes and imprison them in a house of correction forms an important outpost of a JP-led system of criminal justice.⁶ In this instance, vagrancy is used as part of a wider story about the evolution of the local state. But this literature is largely uninterested in what happens to vagrants once they are loaded into Adams's cart. What happened to them after they had been removed and arrived home is best understood through the history of poor relief. In recent years, this field has become increasingly concerned with 'pauper agency' and narrative, and this article extends that interest from parish pensioners to the more mobile and difficult individuals who tended to find themselves under arrest and forcibly removed.⁷ This article directly focuses on vagrancy removal in order to rearticulate the relationship between the local state in its role as a regulatory agency (arrest and punishment), and pauper tactics in navigating between the systems of criminal justice and poor relief.⁸

THE SYSTEM

Henry Adams, and his father James Sturges Adams before him, were responsible for managing the removal of vagrants on behalf of the county.⁹ Each week, Adams's cart went from lock-up to prison, to house of correction, to either his own 'House' at

⁴In total, twenty-six Acts relating to vagrancy were passed between 1700 and 1824, but the underlying legislative framework remained remarkably consistent. See Eccles, *Vagrancy in Law and Practice*, op. cit.

⁵Parliamentary papers, 'Report from the Committee Appointed to Make Enquiries Relating to the Employment, Relief, and Maintenance of the Poor; The Apprehending and Passing of Vagrants; Regulating Houses of Correction' (1776).

⁶Robert B. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and Punishment: Petty Crime and the Law in London and Rural Middlesex, c. 1660–1725* (Cambridge, 1991) and *The London Mob: Violence and Disorder in Eighteenth-century England* (London, 2004); Faramerz Dabhoiwala, 'Summary justice in early modern London', *English Historical Review*, CXXI, 492 (6 January 2006), 796–822 and *Prostitution and Police in London, c. 1660–c. 1760* (Oxford, 1995); J. M. Beattie,

Policing and Punishment in London, 1660–1750: Urban Crime and the Limits of Terror (Oxford, 2001).

⁷Thomas Sokoll (ed.), *Essex Pauper Letters, 1731–1837* (Oxford, 2001); Steven King and Alannah Tomkins (eds), *The Poor in England, 1700–1850: An Economy of Makeshifts* (Manchester, 2003); Alys Levene (general ed.), *Narratives of the Poor in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, vol. 2: *Voices from the Street* (London, 2006); Tim Hitchcock, Peter King and Pamela Sharpe (eds), *Chronicling Poverty: The Voices and Strategies of the English Poor, 1640–1840* (London, 1997).

⁸For 'tactics' see Michel de Certeau, *The Practise of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, 1988).

⁹Audrey Eccles, 'The Adams father and son, vagrant contractors to Middlesex, 1757–94', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 57 (2006), 83–91.

Islington, or directly to pre-determined passing sites on the county boundaries. Rebecca was one of three hundred vagrants transported by Adams between 8 December 1785 and 5 January 1786; 105 were taken directly to the county border and passed into the hands of Adams's equivalent figure in the adjoining county, and a further 195 were housed for between one and three nights in one of Adams's own vagrant stations at a cost of 3d per night, before they too were passed on to the next county.¹⁰ Adams was bound by the terms of the original contract agreed between the Middlesex bench and his father, in which he was charged to secure horses and a covered cart

and clear the Bridewells of all such Vagabonds whose Passes are there lodged, as well as those other Vagrants whose Destination is through this County ... twice every Week; that is to say, those whose Destination is to the North, on one Day every Week; and those to the South and West, on some other Day every Week.¹¹

To deliver on this obligation, Adams needed a substantial infrastructure of his own which had at its heart Adams's depot, termed in the lists as the 'House', at Islington, a mile or so north of Clerkenwell and the built-up area of Greater London. In 1791 a committee of inspection described the accommodation as:

a small Room of about 12 Feet by 9, about 4 feet underground, and part of [a] Loft over his Stable at the bottom of a Yard about 50 Yards from his House. ... There is a Platform raised a few Inches from the Ground on one side of the Room covered with Straw which will with great difficulty contain 8 or 9 Persons ... Men and their Wives ... lay together and that other Females lay there with them.¹²

In addition, Adams also maintained three further holding locations, and collected vagrants from an additional four depots maintained by the adjoining counties. Adams's Middlesex depots were at Enfield to the north-east, at South Mimms to the north, on the border of Hertfordshire, and at Staines to the south-west on the Berkshire border (see [Figure 1](#)). Vagrants were delivered by the contractor for the surrounding counties, or by the constables, and Adams collected them on his rounds for delivery either to their settlement in Middlesex, or onwards to the next jurisdiction. Once in his charge, Adams took them to the City holding stations, or directly to an adjoining county – Surrey, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire and Essex. He then delivered the vagrants either from the City, having been held overnight at the 'House', or from one of the Middlesex houses of correction, to his counterparts' depots at Stratford in Essex, Cheshunt or Ridge in Hertfordshire, Denham or Colnbrook in Buckinghamshire, or

¹⁰These figures were calculated by comparing Adams's bill for maintaining vagrants against his list of vagrants removed. See *LL, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers – Justices' Working Documents*, January 1786 (LMSMPS508060088) and (LMSMPS508060097): LMA.

¹¹*LL, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers – Justices' Working Documents*, July 1757 (LMSMPS504630012): LMA.

¹²*LL, Middlesex Sessions: General Orders of the Court*, 28 October 1789–5 December 1795 (LMSMGO55610GO556100108) and (LMSMGO55610GO556100109): LMA.

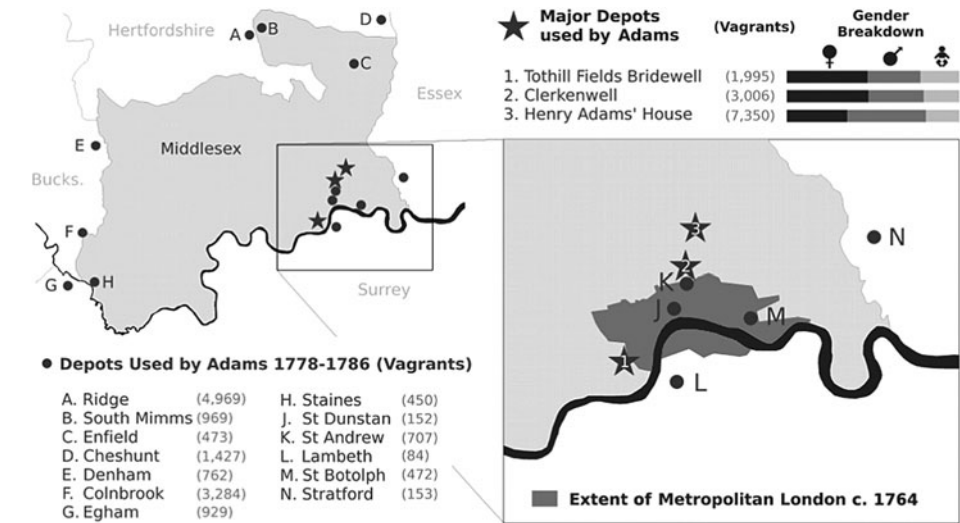


Figure 1. Map of Middlesex county and depots used by Henry Adams to remove vagrants to other counties and bring them into Middlesex from elsewhere.

Egham in Surrey and Lambeth across the river to the south.¹³ Additionally, there were at least three depots in the City, on its western border at St Andrew Holborn and St Dunstan in the West, and to the east at St Botolph Aldgate, where Adams dropped vagrants who were normally heading across the river to the south.¹⁴

Like Adams's 'House' at Islington, these vagrant depots provided squalid and insecure accommodation and there was only limited pretence of securing them overnight. Vagrants were probably 'locked in' for the evening but not otherwise confined.¹⁵ The figure of 404 vagrants (2.7 per cent) recorded as having 'Ran' from one of the depots, or the cart itself, suggests both that escape was relatively easy and that most vagrants were content to stay in custody – at least until they were delivered to the edge of the county and disappear from our records.¹⁶ Each depot sat on one of the major routes into and out

¹³Colnbrook has since been transferred from Buckinghamshire to Berkshire; and in the eighteenth century Egham straddled the border between Surrey and Berkshire.

¹⁴The precise organization of City vagrant removal remains opaque. The compters (Wood Street, Ludgate and Poultry) all held vagrants, and charged the City accounts for their upkeep. Likewise, Bridewell had dedicated 'pass' rooms for vagrants, and also punished beggars and prostitutes in the City. But there is little overlap between vagrants punished in Bridewell and those removed by Adams; and it is not clear who was responsible for accepting vagrants delivered to the City depots, and where precisely they were then taken.

¹⁵Eccles, *Vagrancy in Law*, *op. cit.*, 43.

¹⁶Some escapes were more problematic than others. In September 1786 Bryan Cassidy, a repeat offender legally defined as a 'rogue', ran off from the vagrant cart at Barnet, while the driver was otherwise engaged in a ten-minute dispute with a local parish officer. This led to an enquiry by the bench, but between nine and ten other vagrants were in the cart at the time, on their way to South Mimms, and none of them took the opportunity to run. *LL, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers – Justices' Working Documents*, December 1786 (LMSMPS50816PS50 8160004): LMA.

of London, and paired depots, in particular at South Mimms and Ridge to the north, and Staines and Egham to the west, provided an infrastructure for the exchange with a modicum of humanity that facilitated pauper travel and migration. Not all counties maintained a comprehensive system of contracted removal, with its 'covered cart' and system of depots. Berkshire, for example, did not employ a vagrant contractor, and from Egham, except for the ill and disabled, most vagrants were expected to make their own way homewards with a 'walking pass'.¹⁷

As part of this same contract, Adams was also obliged to deliver a list of the names of every vagabond in his charge on the County Day of every Middlesex Session.¹⁸ For almost four decades, between July 1756 and January 1795, first James Sturges Adams and then, from April 1774, his son, Henry, submitted this list. These documents survive in a relatively coherent series, including forty-two out of a possible sixty-five items submitted in the nine years between January 1778 and April 1786. A measure of the relative completeness of this series can be found in a report to the Middlesex bench submitted by Adams in the autumn of 1785. In this he claimed to have processed 11,183 vagrants in the preceding three years, while the surviving lists for the same period contain details of 8365.¹⁹ Each list is also associated with a bill for the costs incurred. For the vagrants removed with Rebecca Gough in the winter of 1785/6, for instance, Adams charged expenses to a total of £12 1s 3d, including ten shillings for coals, ten more for straw, and five shillings for 'cleaning and laying out the bodies of Robert Kelvington and Robert Johnson'. There were costs for medical care, and for 'Blank Certificates and filling up', a total of 134, at 2d per form (£1 2s 4d).²⁰ The lists submitted by Henry Adams are unique, but they are not perfect. As well as gaps reflecting the happenstance of historical survival, they also evidence a distinct subset of all vagrants arrested and removed in the county or passed through it.²¹ In Middlesex, vagrants with a nearby settlement might be returned directly to their parish, and as a result would not appear on Adams's lists, while in the City no commercial contractor was involved, and local vagrants were probably escorted to their parish of settlement by the arresting constable or beadle, following punishment in Bridewell or the City compters.²² Of the 5001 vagrants processed through the Middlesex houses of correction at Clerkenwell and Tothill Fields, only 668 are listed as having a

¹⁷See Neuman, *Speenhamland County*, *op. cit.*, 11–13. Justices could also specify carriage, either in a cart or on horseback, if the vagrant's circumstances demanded it.

¹⁸LL, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers – Justices' Working Documents, April 1786 (LMSMPS508090272): LMA.

¹⁹In terms of dates covered, this same period saw a survival rate of only 66.6 per cent, compared with the 75 per cent of listed vagrants included. This reflects the extent to which longer lists involving more costs were disproportionately likely to have survived. For Adams's report see LL, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers, April 1786 (LMSMPS508090268): LMA.

²⁰*ibid.*, January 1786 (LMSMPS508060102): LMA.

²¹The records that survive are spread unequally across the year and across the decade and, for example, provide much more consistent detail of removals in October than in May or August.

²²There is no full study of vagrant removal from the City of London or of policing and punishment, but see Andrew Harris, *Policing the City: Crime and Legal Authority in London, 1780–1840* (Columbus, 2004), chaps 1 and 2; and Drew D. Gray, *Crime, Prosecution and Social Relations: The Summary Courts of the City of London in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 2009), 148–56. See also Dabhoiwala, 'Summary justice', *op. cit.*, 796–822.

settlement in Middlesex, and of these, the majority were from the rural parishes outside the metropolis. Similarly, vagrants removed from Westminster or the East End towards East Anglia or the counties to the south and east of London could be passed directly from the houses of correction to either the City of London and from there to Surrey or Kent, or else eastward to Essex. Some vagrants appear on Adams's lists as passed on to the City's vagrant depots in St Andrew Holborn, St Dunstan in the West and St Botolph Aldgate, but not enough to suggest that this route was the one taken by most vagrants passed through the City of London. As a result, vagrants passed to the south and east and East Anglia were under-represented in the lists. At the same time, and for the same reason, the lists tend consistently to record the vagrants from the south-west and Ireland. Both main routes from London to Ireland, for instance, required removal to the north and west, and hence removal through the hands of Henry Adams. Nevertheless, and with these caveats, the lists include the vast majority of vagrants who passed through the greater metropolitan area, including those either arrested to the south or east of London and passed north or west, and those arrested to the north and west, and passed to the south and east.²³ On average, over the course of the decade covered by the lists, Adams processed just under eight vagrants per day.²⁴

MANAGING DISORDERLY COMMUNITIES

Separating out vagrants committed by specific JPs, and processed through individual houses of correction, or passed through the City and accommodated in Adams's 'House' allows us to identify distinctive patterns of social disorder and policing: how the governors of the wider metropolis used the vagrancy removal system either to police gendered disorder, or to manage migration.

The house of correction at Clerkenwell sat on the northern edge of urban Middlesex, roughly thirty minutes' walk north of St Paul's Cathedral. It was part of a group of judicial institutions, which included the 'New Prison' next door, and the Middlesex Sessions House, rebuilt and reopened in July 1782, a few hundred yards south on Clerkenwell Green.²⁵ Clerkenwell is listed as the point of origin for 3006 vagrants who were primarily committed for offences in the heavily populated and disorderly parishes

²³The lists record a slightly different population of vagrants from that reflected in the removal orders and surviving vagrancy examinations of the sort used by Nicholas Rogers for his 1991 study. While surviving removal orders and examinations were likely to privilege local vagrants, and to include those returned directly to their parish of settlement following arrest or punishment, Adams's lists more fully documented long-distance vagrancy. See N. Rogers, 'Policing the poor in eighteenth-century London: the vagrancy laws and their administration', *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, xxiv, 47 (May 1991), 127–47.

²⁴The lists were submitted eight times a year, but each list covered a slightly different period

and number of days. The figure given here is calculated according to the total number of days covered by all surviving lists. By comparison, in 1784 the large urban parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields (population approximately 25,000) passed or removed just 38 individuals as poor law paupers during the course of the year. See LL, St Martin's Workhouse Registers: Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers, 1 January 1784–31 December 1784 (smdswhr_730): WAC.

²⁵See Tim Hitchcock, *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London*, 2nd edn (London, 2007), 151–80.

that circled the old City. Vagrants arrested in St Giles-in-the-Fields, St Andrew Holborn and St Botolph Aldgate were likely to find themselves here. In total, 194 different JPs committed vagrants to Clerkenwell, but most vagrants who spent time there had passed through the courts of only a small handful of magistrates justices.

The JP David Walker, whose house in Hyde Street was located just on the limits of respectability in St George Bloomsbury, was responsible for 864 vagrant committals – nearly 6 per cent of all vagrants in this study.²⁶ To the north of his house were the new and expanding terraces of the Southampton estate, with a large, ever-changing female servant population, and to the south the poor neighbourhoods of St Giles and St Andrew Holborn. The parishes of St Giles and St George were united for both poor law and night watch purposes and it is here that Walker found a great deal of his work, regulating those individuals brought in by the watch or admitted to the workhouse. Philip Dyot, one of the longest serving justices in Middlesex, and working from Dyot Street at the heart of the poorest corner of St Giles-in-the-Fields, was responsible for 251 vagrant committals.²⁷ Seven other magistrates each sent in over 100 vagrants. Middlesex justices were notoriously territorial and keen to protect their own judicial business. It was considered ‘unacceptable’ to intervene in another magistrate’s business and on several occasions this so-called ‘interference’ merited intervention by the Middlesex bench.²⁸ Hence, the gender balance of vagrants a justice committed to an institution was likely to reflect the economy and gender make-up of the neighbourhood he served.

Tothill Fields Bridewell at the southern edge of Westminster was the point of origin for a smaller number of vagrants (1995, or 13.5 per cent of the total). The top seven magistrates committing vagrants to Tothill Fields are responsible for 40 per cent of all commitments to the prison. Edward Bindloss, for example, committed all of the 71 vagrants processed at his house in Smith Street, in St Margaret Westminster a few hundred yards away, to Tothill Fields. These were vagrants committed by a gradually narrowing subset of urban magistrates.²⁹

Most of the more active magistrates sent the majority of the vagrants they processed to one or the other of the houses of correction. David Walker, working from St-Giles-in-the-Fields and St Andrew Holborn in the north-west of urban Middlesex committed 853 people to Clerkenwell. Among them were 195 men and 521 women (23 per cent and 61 per cent respectively). In contrast, John Staples who worked from Whitechapel to the east

²⁶For a list of Middlesex justices organized by precinct, see *LL, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers – Justices’ Working Documents*, June 1780 (LMSMPS 507260085): LMA. For David Walker’s Hyde Street residence see *LL, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers – Justices’ Working Documents*, June 1781 (LMSMPS507410004): LMA.

²⁷*General Evening Post* (London), 17–20 November 1792, issue 9229. Dyot Street was named after Philip Dyot’s grandfather, who developed the area in the late seventeenth century.

²⁸For the regulation of Middlesex magistrates see Norma Landau, ‘The trading justice’s trade’ in Landau (ed.), *Law, Crime and English Society* (Cambridge, 2002), 46–70.

²⁹It is worth noting that the magistrates’ court at Bow Street was little involved in the system of removal, with the three stipendiary magistrates responsible during the period covered by Adams’s lists (John Fielding, Sampson Wright and William Addington) being responsible for only 92 removals – 7, 59 and 26 respectively.

Table 1. *Vagrants passed from Clerkenwell and Tothill Fields houses of correction, 1777–86.*

Year	Male	Female	Child	% Male	% Female	% Child	Total
1777	18	45	15	23.1	57.7	19.2	78
1778	109	355	181	16.9	55.0	28.1	645
1779	15	20	5	37.5	50.0	12.5	40
1780	78	157	64	26.1	52.5	21.4	299
1781	125	302	110	23.3	56.2	20.5	537
1782	143	279	112	26.8	52.2	21.0	534
1783	195	269	145	32.0	44.2	23.8	609
1784	314	367	144	38.1	44.5	17.4	825
1785	405	562	165	35.8	49.6	14.6	1132
1786	111	140	40	38.1	48.1	13.8	291
Total	1513	2496	981	30.3	50.0	19.7	4990

of the City until spring 1786 committed 100 men and 60 women (52 per cent and 31 per cent respectively).

Collectively, vagrants removed from the houses of correction at Clerkenwell and Tothill Fields conform closely to the broad patterns identified by Nicholas Rogers on the basis of a sample of vagrancy examinations for Middlesex, and that experienced by Jacob Ilive in 1757.³⁰ Both houses of correction were dominated by women; of the 5001 vagrants in these institutions, just over half were women and 30 per cent were men. An additional 20 per cent were children, the vast majority of whom were accompanying their mother. The dominance of women in this vagrant population remains consistent throughout the decade (see Table 1).³¹

A further distinctive characteristic of the vagrant population removed from the houses of correction is the relatively small number of family groups involved. The majority of the 5001 house of correction vagrants were travelling alone. In total, 64.6 per cent (3230) listed were solo men and women. A relatively small number were designated as groups, or families, within which women with dependants predominate, appearing 448 times. Family units including a man as a group leader, wife and children appear 98 times. Men with their wives and no children are uncommon, appearing only 54 times. Likewise, men with children but no wife are vanishingly rare, with only 38 cases. Just over 70 per cent of all groups originating in the houses of correction were led by women.

The predominance of women and the pattern of short-distance migration that characterizes their experience, discussed below, suggest that many were drawn by London’s relatively high wages in domestic service and casual employment; and in turn reflects the insecurity experienced by women in domestic service. For the most part, they were arrested on the streets of urban Middlesex and Westminster, then brought before a magistrate who committed them and directed their subsequent removal – usually preceded by two or three days of hard labour, and possibly a private whipping

³⁰Rogers, ‘Policing the poor’, *op. cit.*, 127–47.
³¹Eleven vagrants of indeterminate gender who passed through the houses of correction are not included in these figures.

in prison.³² These were vagrants of the sort Jacob Ilive describes as imprisoned at the House of Correction at Clerkenwell a couple of decades earlier:

a great number of dirty young wenches, intermixed with some men; . . . sitting on the ground against a wall, sunning and lousing themselves; others lying round asleep; some sleeping or lying with their faces in men's laps, and some men doing the same by the women. I found on enquiry that these wenches, most of them were sent hither by justices as loose and disorderly persons.³³

★

Vagrants passed through Adams's 'House' were of a rather different stamp. Almost half of all vagrants included in Adams's lists passed through this depot – 7350 individuals. The vast majority either came through the City on their way north and west with a pass issued by the Lord Mayor, or more uncommonly via the City Bridewell. In 1791 the committee of the Middlesex bench interviewed five vagrants being held at Islington:

being asked of the manner of their having obtained Passes Three of them the only ones from the City (who appeared in good health) declared respective homes [and] were advised to go to the Lord Mayor for Passes which they did and had them of course.³⁴

The extent to which the 'House' provided travelling accommodation for those moving through the City is reflected in the role of the Lord Mayor sitting as a magistrate. Richard Clark, for instance, was Lord Mayor from October 1784 to October of the following year. In this period, Adams's lists record him as having signed passes for 976 vagrants, of which all but ten were recorded as passing through his 'House'. During his mayoralty Clark claimed to spend between three and four hours every day working at 'petty sessions' business, including issuing passes to vagrants.³⁵ Of the 1492 people who stayed at Adams's 'House' in this period, 65 per cent did so on the basis of a pass signed by the Lord Mayor sitting in regular session as a magistrate at London's Mansion House. The vast majority of the remainder were there on a pass signed by active justices involved in City government and the passes were probably issued at the Guildhall Justice Room. The courts at both the Mansion House and the Guildhall Justice Room sat six days a week, ensuring that a pass could be obtained any day but Sunday.

³²According to statute, they should have been committed to the house of correction for a week's hard labour and a whipping. But a typical accommodation bill for vagrants at the house of correction at Clerkenwell for autumn 1781 lists 109 vagrants (106 of whom were passed directly on to Henry Adams and appear in his lists). Of these, 7 were passed on the same day they were committed, 9 on the next day, 56 after two days and 37 after three days. No one was held for as long as a week. *LL*, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers – Justices' Working Documents, October 1781 (LMSM PS50745PS507450079): LMA.

³³[J. Ilive], *Reasons offered for the Reformation of the House of Correction in Clerkenwell* (London, 1757), 10.

³⁴*LL*, Middlesex Sessions: General Orders of the Court, 28 October 1789–5 December 1795 (LMSMGO55610GO556100109): LMA.

³⁵Harris, *Policing the City*, *op. cit.*, 28; citing LMA, MS 3385, 'Lord Mayor Clark's Diary, &c. 1784–1785'. Clark's diary also suggests he was very conscientious in ensuring that another justice was on hand to conduct petty sessions business when he could not attend.

By the 1780s the system of policing and punishing vagrants in the City was changing and growing increasingly complex. Bridewell, Wood Street Compter, Poultry Compter and Ludgate Prison all accommodated and, at times, punished vagrants. In the spring of 1781 the keeper of Wood Street Compter, for instance, submitted a bill for supporting vagrants in his care. In 1780 he claimed recompense for 165 vagrants, mainly boys and women.³⁶ At Bridewell, the City's largest house of correction, almost 10,000 men and women were committed during the period covered by Adams's lists, most for idle and disorderly behaviour and other forms of 'vagrancy',³⁷ and yet none of the people listed by Kirby and only a handful of those punished in Bridewell can be identified as having subsequently been removed as vagrants via the Middlesex vagrant contractor.

The 1780s, in particular, witnessed a crisis in punishment in the City, driven in part by the destruction of much of the infrastructure of incarceration during the Gordon Riots. There was also a substantial transition in the policy of issuing passes to vagrants that came into effect in early 1783. Though no explicit policy statement survives, this transition led to an ongoing dispute between the City and Middlesex, with Henry Adams in the centre. The character and chronology of this transition has been detailed elsewhere, but for the purpose of this discussion the important observation is that the vast majority of City vagrants removed from London through Henry Adams's 'House' at Islington did so on the basis of a pass from the Lord Mayor, or aldermen sitting in petty sessions at the Mansion House and Guildhall, and that such passes were largely available on demand.³⁸ From 1783, the outcome was to turn the vagrancy removal system into an accessible way of both legitimating long-distance migration, and gaining subsidized accommodation and transport along the way.

The impact of the City's change in policy can be seen in the transition in the gender make-up of City vagrants removed through the 'House' before and after the beginning of 1783. The list for the period 20 February to 24 April 1783 suggests that 146 vagrants whose gender can be identified were passed from the City. Among them men substantially outnumbered women for the first time, with 59 per cent men (87) to 40 per cent women (59).³⁹ In the five years until the end of 1782, the proportion of men and women being removed conformed closely to the pattern observed among house of correction vagrants, with an average of twice as many women as men, and a similar

³⁶CLRO, Misc Mss/288/8, 'Mr Kirby's bill for subsistence money &c for poor vagrants &c went to Wood Street compter by the Lord Mary & Aldermen. £109 2s 7d.' Kirby also claims to have sent many of the boys to the 'Marine Society', but again, detailed searches in Marine Society Records, undertaken by Dianne Payne, has not revealed any connections. When in October 1780 Kirby was confronted by four widows of men who had recently died in the American War, and their children, he spent £1.5 on a wagon to take one family to Bristol, and a further £4 4s on a further wagon journey to Liverpool. See Dianne Payne, 'Rhetoric, reality and the

Marine Society', *London Journal*, xxx, 2 (October 2005), 66–84.

³⁷Dabhoiwala, 'Summary justice', *op. cit.*, Appendix (committals).

³⁸Tim Hitchcock, 'The London vagrancy crisis of the 1780s', *Rural History*, xxi, 1 (April 2013), 59–72 and 'Re-negotiating the bloody code: the Gordon riots and the transformation of popular attitudes to the criminal justice system' in Ian Heywood and John Seed (eds), *The Gordon Riots* (Cambridge, 2012), 185–203.

³⁹Men also slightly outnumber women (98 men to 90 women) in the list covering the period 9 July to 10 September 1781.

Table 2. *Demographic breakdown of vagrants passed from the 'House' by year, 1777–86.*

Year	Male	Female	Child	% Male	% Female	% Child	Total
1777	6	20	3	20.7	69.0	10.3	29
1778	65	257	151	13.8	54.3	31.9	473
1779	4	26	11	9.8	63.4	26.8	41
1780	171	344	179	24.6	49.6	25.8	694
1781	287	352	171	35.4	43.5	21.1	810
1782	72	168	124	19.8	46.1	34.1	364
1783	299	249	133	43.9	36.6	19.5	681
1784	969	411	242	59.8	25.3	14.9	1622
1785	1,227	646	315	56.1	29.5	14.4	2188
1786	199	165	84	44.4	36.8	18.8	448
Total	3299	2638	1413	44.9	35.9	19.2	7350

Table 3. *Demographic breakdown of vagrants passed from the 'House', 1777–86, split into two periods: 1777–82 and 1783–6.*

Period	Male	Female	Child	% Male	% Female	% Child	Total
1777–82	605	1167	639	25.1	48.4	26.5	2411
1783–6	2694	1471	774	54.5	29.8	15.7	4939
Change	+2089	+304	+135	+29.4	–18.6	–10.8	+2528

proportion of women to children (see [Tables 2](#) and [3](#)). City vagrants in this early period were significantly more likely to be part of a group than those passing through the houses of correction – 25.2 per cent versus 16.5 per cent – but as with house of correction vagrants these groups were overwhelmingly led by women (78 per cent).

In the post-war years between February 1783 and 1786 a distinct and different pattern is apparent. The proportion of adult men removed as vagrants doubled to 54 per cent, compared with only 30 per cent adult women and 16 per cent children. At the same time, the overall number of male vagrants travelling alone grew dramatically from 21 per cent of all City vagrants prior to 1783 to 48 per cent in subsequent years.

In part this transition reflects the impact of demobilization following the American War. Douglas Hay estimates that some 130,000 soldiers and sailors were discharged in 1783, most of whom were dumped in either London or Portsmouth and told to go on their way.⁴⁰ And while the resulting influx of young men has traditionally been deployed as part of a carefully demarcated discussion of patterns of criminal prosecution – primarily for theft – demobilization also undoubtedly increased the number of young single men on the roads of Britain in 1783 and in subsequent years. Finding legitimate

⁴⁰Douglas Hay, 'War, dearth and theft in the eighteenth century: the record of the English courts', *Past and Present*, XCV, 1 (1982), 139. For a detailed discussion of the relationship between crime and demobilization see also John Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England, 1660–1800* (Princeton, 1986), chap. 5. The countrywide

character of this phenomenon is suggested by the bulge in expenditure on vagrant removal recorded in the West Riding of Yorkshire in these same years (1782: £729; 1783: £921; 1784: £1478; 1785: £1123; 1786: £877). Our thanks to Joanna Innes for these figures.

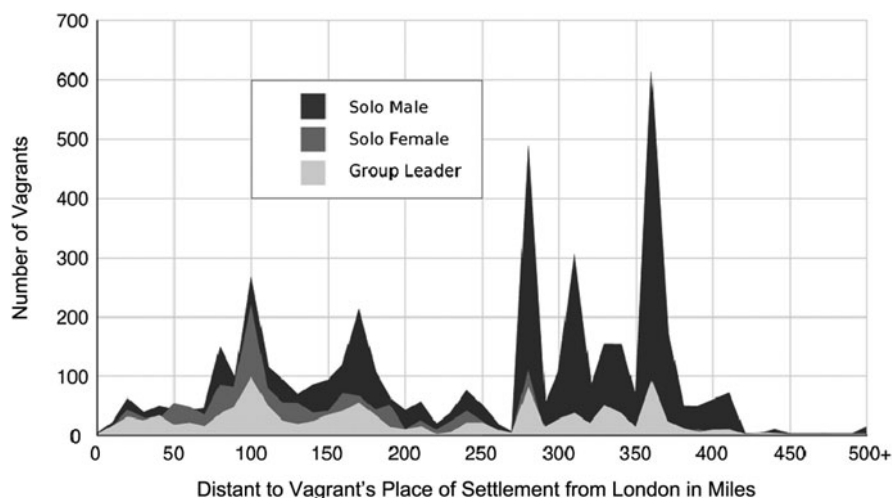


Figure 2. Distance travelled by vagrants in miles, measured from the Old Bailey courthouse, City vagrants only, 1783–6.

employment in London for these tens of thousands of men was unrealistic. As one of two primary disembarkation points for the army and navy in the country, London drew a disproportionate number of these men, and without recourse to even its traditional, pre-Gordon Riots set of jails and prisons, it is perhaps unsurprising that the City authorities decided to use the system of vagrant removal to speed them on their way.⁴¹ The vagrancy system had the advantage of speed. Vagrants were shifted out of the county within the week, whereas criminals had to be housed until the next session of the court at the expense of the ratepayers. At the same time, the continued dominance of male vagrants travelling alone among these City vagrants suggests that this transition was quickly regularized among the poor seeking a pass from the Mansion House.⁴²

Perhaps the most compelling evidence for the distinctive character of post-1783 removal through the City can be found in measuring the distance travelled by these men (see Figure 2). While women removed from Middlesex overwhelmingly travelled under

⁴¹Rogers suggests that in 1779 'London provided 31.5 per cent of all new recruits to the navy'; after demobilization a significant number of men in the metropolis would have displaced itinerants and less experienced labour in the port. He also suggests that in the summer of 1779 the need was so great that statutory exemptions were ignored and 'just about every seaman or riverside worker from the quayside' was pressed into the navy, again suggesting that established and skilled workers were likely to return to their place of work. See Nicholas Rogers, *The Press Gang: Naval Impressment and*

Its Opponents in Georgian Britain (London, 2007), 56 and 'Impressment and the law in eighteenth-century Britain' in Landau (ed.), *Law, Crime and English Society*, *op. cit.*, 92.

⁴²Thirty years later, a parliamentary committee heard that as a matter of policy the City freed itself of unwanted paupers by 'passing them as vagrants, knowing that there is no appeal against a vagrants pass, they pass them on the most vague examinations'. Parliamentary papers, 'Report from the Committee on the State of Mendicity in the Metropolis', 1814–15 (473), 69.

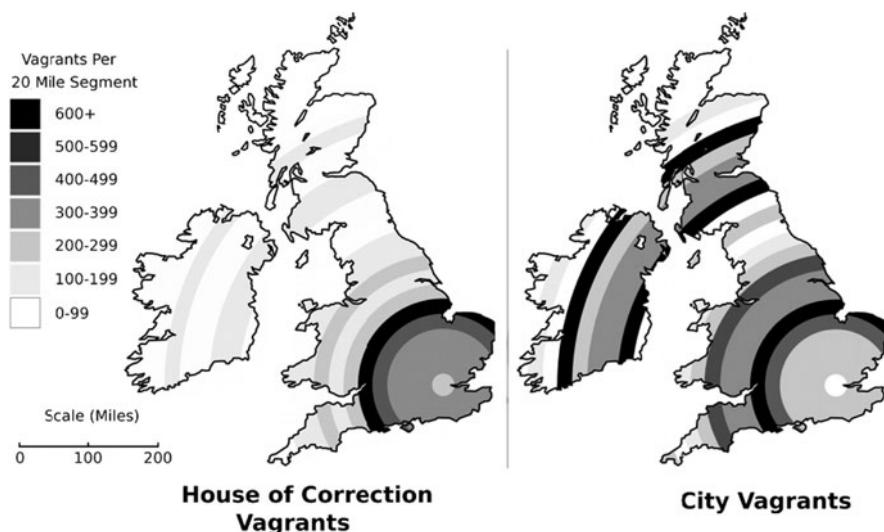


Figure 3. Number of vagrants by distance travelled to parish of home settlement, shown in segments of twenty miles, measured from the Old Bailey courthouse, 1778–86 and separated by houses of correction and City vagrants.

two hundred miles to their place of settlement, the men removed from the City after 1783 were aiming much further afield, with significant groups giving Dublin and Cork as their final destination.

In contrast with vagrants passed via the Middlesex houses of correction, those coming from the City, or across the county from north to south or east to west (see Figure 3), were not put to hard labour or whipped, and do not seem to have been sent to either the City's house of correction at Bridewell or the compters.⁴³ Like James Dawson Burn a couple of decades later, most appear to have simply applied to the Lord Mayor for a pass as a kind of licence to travel. In around 1810 Burn accompanied his mother to the Mansion House:

My mother took the whole of the children into her charge, and made application at the Mansion House for a pass to Hexham, in Northumberland ... which she had no difficulty in obtaining; with this pass we visited nearly all the towns and villages on the east coast of England between London and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. As my mother preferred taking the journey at her ease, and her own time, she frequently had the benefit of the cash that the overseers would have had to pay for sending us forward in a conveyance, and at the same

⁴³Only a small number of the vagrants held in City institutions appear to have been sent onwards through Henry Adams's hands. When, for instance, in 1781, the keeper of Wood Street Compter was confronted by 'five soldiers, widows whose husbands were killed in America & ... 5 young children', with

settlements in Dublin, Cork and Scotland, he was simply, 'ordered to get them there in the best manner ... [he] could & provide them in the meantime'. None of their names (Mary Dodson, Ann Jarvis, Susan Holdsworth, Peggy Came and Judith Howard) appear on Adams's lists.

time she had the advantage of the intermediate relieving officers, who were often glad to get clear of us at the expense of a shilling or two.⁴⁴

If those passed through Adams's 'House' were vagrants in the sense of the law, their crime was committed either in some distant community, or else comprised that common fault of being poor and far from home.

VAGRANTS TURNED PAUPERS

Whether a lone woman processed through one of the Middlesex houses of correction or a demobilized soldier passed from the City, the precise route of a vagrant's journey is normally impossible to reconstruct. One exception is the journey of Lever Maxey and his family, detailed on the back of his removal order and preserved among the overseers' papers of his parish of settlement, Wallingford in Oxfordshire.⁴⁵ Arrested in St Giles-in-the-Fields as a 'rogue and vagabond' on 17 February 1784, and examined by local justice, David Walker, Maxey, his wife and their child were initially committed to the Clerkenwell house of correction, for one or two days, before being passed into the hands of Henry Adams. From Clerkenwell, Adams brought them to Colnbrook in Buckinghamshire, where they were given over to the constable, who endorsed the back of the removal order, before escorting them onwards some eighteen miles to Maidenhead, where justice Cambell took responsibility for them. The next day, on 20 February, Lever Maxey and his family went on a further twelve miles to Henley on Thames, where the mayor, Thomas Divas, signed their pass. Their next stop was Bix, just a mile or so down the road, from whence the constable took them the final ten miles to Wallingford.⁴⁶ On arrival, Maxey and his family were handed into the care of the local overseer of the poor, who essentially had no choice but to accept their right to relief from the parish.

From at least 1777, parishes were legally obliged to accept vagrants removed under the order of a single magistrate following only a cursory examination. Unlike a settlement removal under the poor law, a vagrant order could not be subject to an appeal.⁴⁷ As a result, removal via a vagrancy pass effectively established an incontrovertible settlement in whichever parish was named on the pass. And while there is no evidence to demonstrate that the poor substantially manipulated this system to circumvent the old poor law and system of settlement, the City of London's post-1783 policy of issuing a pass

⁴⁴James Dawson Burn, *The Autobiography of a Beggar Boy*, ed. David Vincent (London, 1978), 58.

⁴⁵Prior to 1974 Wallingford was in Berkshire.

⁴⁶*Berkshire Overseers Papers* (Berkshire Family History Society, CD, 2005), vol. 9, Wallingford St Mary, 'Lever Maxey'.

⁴⁷There is some confusion about when and if appeals to vagrancy orders could be taken to quarter sessions, but according to Audrey Eccles such appeals were legally impossible

following the judgement in *Rex v. Ringwould* in 1777. See Eccles, *Vagrancy in Law*, *op. cit.*, 56 (citing M. Nolan, *A Treatise of the Laws for the Relief and Settlement of the Poor*, 4th edn (London, 1825), vol. 2, 238–40). Other historians have concluded that, as such removal orders formed an order by a justice in a different jurisdiction, they could not be overturned at any point following 1744. See Peter King, *Crime and the Law in England, 1750–1840* (Cambridge, 2006), 31.

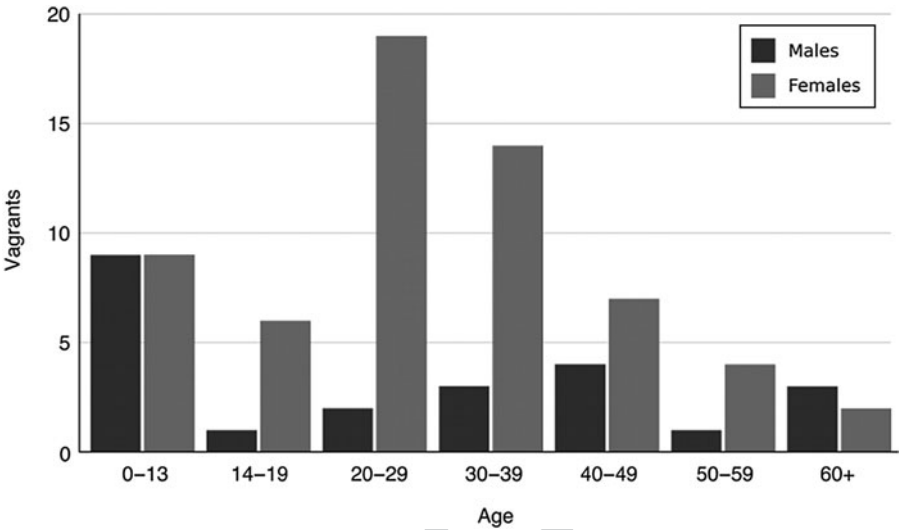


Figure 4. Age and gender distribution of 85 vagrants removed to St Martin-in-the-Fields workhouse, appearing in both Adams’s lists and in the parish workhouse register.

on demand essentially undermined the ability of local JPs to manage in-migration. Within a decade of Adam Smith’s characterization of the system of settlement as an unnatural imposition on the movement of labour, it had ceased to function effectively.⁴⁸

The complex relationship between the system of vagrant removal and the workings of the old poor law can be tested by examining the experience of the subset of vagrants passed through Adams’s hands and returned to the Westminster parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields. Building on the work of Leonard Schwarz and Jeremy Boulton and the digitization of the workhouse registers and settlement examinations of St Martin’s, it is possible to trace the subsequent experience of two-thirds of the vagrants included on Adams’s lists and removed to St Martin’s. In total, 131 individuals were ascribed a settlement in St Martin’s, of whom 85 can be identified in the St Martin’s workhouse registers. This subset includes fifteen family groups, eleven of which were composed of a mother and her children. Overall, vagrants removed to St Martin’s and admitted to the workhouse were dominated by adult women between the ages of twenty and forty, many of whom had children with them, and who carried the burden of a complex history of interactions with both the parish and the system of vagrant removal (see Figure 4). In most respects this age and gender distribution looks remarkably similar to the population of workhouses as explored by historians such as Alysa Levene, Jeremy Boulton and Alannah Tomkins, who have argued that the pattern of admissions to

⁴⁸Adam Smith, *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776; Everyman edn, London, 1910), i, 128. For a wider ranging and comparative recent analysis see Anne Winter and Thijs Lambrecht, ‘Migration,

poor relief and local autonomy: settlement policies in England and the southern Low Countries in the eighteenth century’, *Past and Present*, CCXVIII, 1 (2013), 91–126.

workhouses reflects an ‘economy of makeshift’ in which the workhouse forms part of a more complex equation.⁴⁹

Representative, if not typical, was Ann Crossland (née Healey). She first came to the attention of the parish authorities, aged forty, when she was admitted to the workhouse on 20 June 1780, with two children, Edward, aged four, and Benjamin, aged two, ‘passed as a vagrant from the parish of Dorking in the County of Surry’ (sic). Her examination and life history make it abundantly clear that her legal settlement was actually in Huddersfield rather than St Martin’s. She was probably born in Rochdale and married James Crossland in Manchester in 1759.⁵⁰ Two decades later James Crossland was serving in the Sussex militia, but had been apprenticed to a stay-maker in Huddersfield for seven years. Ann clearly tried to make a case for a London settlement, claiming her husband had worked for three weeks in the parish as a journeyman, but this was legally untenable and the examination was never completed or signed. Nevertheless, Ann and her two children were allowed to remain in the workhouse for just under a year. The parish had no choice in the matter and could not lodge an appeal against the removal order because it was a vagrancy rather than poor law removal.

Three months after being discharged from the St Martin’s workhouse, Ann was once again arrested as a vagrant – on this occasion in the City of London. Under an order from Henry Kitchner, an alderman, this time she was removed to Huddersfield, spending a couple of nights in Adams’s ‘House’ in Islington en route through the vagrant depot at Ridge. By December of the same year she was back at St Martin’s – the parish apparently unaware that she had been removed to Yorkshire – and was readmitted with her children. She stayed for seven months, during which time Benjamin died, and Ann was separated from her older son, Edward. There is no evidence he ever saw his mother again.

In the next ten years Ann entered the workhouse on nine further occasions, and was usually either ‘discharged’ in the spring, or else simply ‘Absented’ herself. She then normally re-entered the house in the late autumn. She died in April 1797 aged fifty-seven.⁵¹ Ann Crossland and her family were expensive, but the parish had no real choice

⁴⁹Alysa Levene, ‘Children, childhood and the workhouse: St Marylebone, 1769–81’, *London Journal*, xxxiii, 1 (2008), 37–55; Jeremy Boulton and John Black, ‘Paupers and their experience of a Georgian workhouse: St Martin in the Fields, Westminster, 1725–1830’ in J. Hamlett, L. Hoskins and R. Preston (eds), *Residential Institutions in Britain, 1725–1950: Inmates and Environments* (London, 2013); and King and Tomkins, *The Poor in England*, *op. cit.*

⁵⁰IGI, ‘Ann Healey’ was christened at St Chad, Rochdale on 22 October 1739, and is recorded as having married James Crossland at the ‘Cathedral’, Manchester on 10 February 1759.

⁵¹Ann Crossland appears twice in Adams’s lists: *LL*, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers – Justices’ Working Documents, September 1781 (LMSMPS507440009): LMA and *LL*, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers – Justices’

Working Documents, April 1786 (LMSMPS508090217): LMA. For her encounters with St Martin’s, see *LL*, St Martin’s Workhouse Registers: Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers (smdswhr_554_55445, smdswhr_555_55550, smdswhr_555_55555, smdswhr_595_59570, smdswhr_736_73684, smdswhr_738_73885, smdswhr_756_75653, smdswhr_768_76901, smdswhr_771_77139, smdswhr_773_77378, smdswhr_774_77425, smdswhr_775_77545, smdswhr_776_77641, smdswhr_776_77662 and smdswhr_869_86945): WAC. For her examination see *LL*, St Martin’s Settlement Exams: St Martin in the Fields Pauper Examinations, 1725–1793, 20 June 1780 (smdsset_42_51628): WAC. For her stay at the ‘House’ see *LL*, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions

but to assent to her repeated admission to the workhouse. They were legally obliged to accept the settlement specified in the removal order and had no right of appeal. At the same time, they simply could not know about orders made elsewhere. Ironically Ann Crossland could have presented herself in either St Martin's or Huddersfield, with an equally watertight claim to parish relief. If Adams's lists suggest the existence of a complex pattern of short- and long-distance migration, they also reflect the extent to which poor law settlement under the old poor law could be and frequently was subverted, with paupers like Ann Crossland able to exercise a substantial element of choice in the process.

CONCLUSION

In an article published in 1992, Nicholas Rogers characterized London's vagrant population as predominantly young and female on the basis of a small sample of vagrancy examinations and removal orders found among the records of the Middlesex bench. This article has suggested that while this is true, it forms only a partial account of a complex system. A comprehensive analysis of removals listed by Henry Adams suggests three substantial revisions to Rogers's conclusions. First, different parts of London and different magistrates used the system of vagrant removal in ways that reflected their specific interests. The relatively large number of men removed from Whitechapel by John Staples, for instance, reflected the nature of the parish. Whitechapel was home to many of the maritime trades servicing vessels on the Thames, and there was a thriving manufactory for tin glazed wares together with sugar refining – all drawing in a workforce dominated by men.⁵² In contrast, the much higher proportion of women removed as vagrants in Westminster reflects the very different economy of the area, with its large number of domestic servants.

Second, the overwhelming dominance of men travelling alone among City vagrants, particularly after 1783, reflects the extent to which the City came to rely on vagrant removal, and to administer it in a new way. In effect, the City shifted the cost and burden of moving long-distance migrants such as demobilized Irish servicemen and seasonal labourers through the capital to the ratepayers of Middlesex, and the counties en route to Bristol and Liverpool where ships would take them across the Irish Sea.

Third, and finally, the lists help to reveal the complex relationship between vagrant removal and parish poor relief. By vesting a largely unchallengeable authority for assigning a settlement by a justice with no stake in preserving the interests of the parish of

Papers – Justices' Working Documents, September 1781 (LMSMPS507440080): LMA.

⁵²Breweries and distilleries were common in the immediate area, as were slaughterhouses and associated leather- and glue-making. The parish, however, was dominated by the

Whitechapel Road, the major east–west thoroughfare linking the City with the eastern counties. See John Marriott, *Beyond the Tower: A History of East London* (New Haven and London, 2011), 48–56.

settlement, vagrant removal essentially undermined the ability of the settlement system effectively to police migration.⁵³

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⁵³There is an extensive literature on the role of settlement and removal in managing migration, including an extended debate between K. D. M. Snell and Norma Landau. See Snell, 'Pauper settlement and the right to poor relief in England and Wales', *Continuity and Change*, 6 (1991) 375–415 and Landau's reply in the same volume, 417–39; see also Landau, 'The laws of settlement and the surveillance of immigration in eighteenth-century Kent', *Continuity and Change*, 3 (1988), 391–420 and 'The regulation of immigration, economic structures and definitions of the poor in eighteenth-century England', *Historical Journal*, 33 (1990), 541–72. For a more recent overview, see Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700–1950* (Cambridge, 2006). See also David Feldman, 'Migrants, immigrants and welfare from the old poor law to the welfare state', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 13 (1 January 2003), 79–104.